Equal Rights

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LEGISLATIVE DIVISION

Mlle. Fanny Bunand-Sevastos

French Feminist and painter, who spoke at National Headquarters of the National Woman's Party on March 21. Mlle. Bunand was among the Feminists arrested with Doris Stevens at Rambouillet, France, for demanding a hearing for the Equal Rights Treaty.

Equal Rights

OFFICIAL ORGAN
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Capitol Hill
Washington, D. C.
Phone, Lincoln 1366
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at 19 West Chase Street
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Phone, Vernon 3279

Edith Houghton Hooker . . . Editor
Ruby A. Black . . . Managing Editor
Dora G. Ogle . . . Business Manager

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY
The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT
"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."
[Senate Joint Resolution Number 64.]
Introduced in the Senate, January 4, 1928,
by Senator Charles E. Curtis, Kansas.
Introduced in the House, May 18, 1928,
by Representative Frederick W. Magrady, Pennsylvania.

We Are Not Surprised Either

"IT IS not surprising," says the New York *Times*, "to find that Kaluga heads the movements for restriction of the sale of vodka, for revision of the marriage law, which by the very ease of marriage and divorce operates to the disadvantage of the economically weaker party; for more schools, and for stricter enforcement of the laws against the employment of children."

Coming from a newspaper which opposed woman suffrage in its day, and is not now any too strongly inclined to Feminism, this comment is highly entertaining. Kaluga, whatever it is, heads a variety of movements that are conspicuously designed to further the best interests of humanity, and "it is not surprising" to the New York *Times* that this should be the case.

It is not surprising to Feminists either, for Kaluga, it appears, is a territorial division of Russia, known as a "gubernia," southwest of Moscow, where, to quote the *Times* again, "the Feminist movement has established a world record."

Not only is the president of the Gubernia Executive Committee—a position corresponding to an American governor—a woman, Mme. Lubeemova, but the proportion of women members in the State Legislature, from the tiny village and factory Soviets up to the principal administrative bodies, has risen during the recent elections from 18 to 27 per cent.

No fewer than 120 village Soviets now have women presidents, and the Izvestiya feels justified in calling Kaluga a "women's gubernia."

The only surprising thing about this situation is that the New York *Times* is not surprised. Time was when this estimable contemporary predicted all sorts of appalling disasters should women ever become invested with the franchise. Marriage was to become obsolete, if we remember rightly; children were not to be born, women were to be unsexed, and other misfortunes were to be anticipated if the female of the species should ever be permitted to participate actively in the functions of government.

And now we find this erstwhile prophet not surprised that a government dominated by women should head the movements for the protection of civilization's most basic interests.

Rather a flat finale, but certainly a sensible one. Women naturally oppose the sale of vodka, women naturally uphold marriage as an institution, women naturally wish to educate their children and to prevent their exploitation for purposes of profit.

It is in the very nature of womanhood and motherhood, as the *Times* tardily infers, that this should be so. Hence the Feminist movement. And hence also the subversive nature of the opposition. The anti-Feminist is not only opposing the progress of women; he or she is also opposing the progress of civilization.

However, we shall not be surprised to see the opposition faint and fail in the not far distant future, and we venture to predict that when that day comes the New York *Times* and the psychology it phrases will take Equal Rights as calmly as it now takes equal suffrage. Evolution, after all, is stronger even than prejudice.

Methods and Results

TO DATE one of the best arguments that has ever been presented in behalf of the Federal Equal Rights Amendment is the sessions of the 1929 State Legislatures. Forty-three of the forty-eight States have entertained legislative assemblies this year, and what they have done for Equal Rights resembles what the small boy tried to do for the ocean when he attempted to bail it out with a teaspoon. In short, nothing of any consequence has happened. Special bills to correct special ills have been introduced by the cartload, but the bills have largely remained in committee while the special ills have remained as a part of the lot of woman.

Obviously the time has come when patience is no longer a virtue. To tolerate injustice is to connive at it. Unless women wish to waste their lives and the lives of their children and their children's children working for Equal Rights, a method other than special bills to correct special ills must be discovered.

We have tried the 1929 State Legislatures and we have found them wanting. Now let us see whether concerted action directed toward the passage of the Lucretia Mott Amendment is not a more effective method.

Progress in Legislatures

VICTORY in the fight against the extension of Massachusetts law prohibiting women from working for pay at night, and defeat of the Jury Service bill and the Equal Guardianship bill are reported by the Massachusetts State Branch of the National Woman's Party.

The effort to have the night work law extended so that women could not work for pay between 6 P. M. and 6 A. M., instead of between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M., as at present, was defeated. The defeat of this measure is attributed to the work of the Massachusetts Branch and of Maud Williams of New York, member of the Industrial Council of the National Woman's Party, and of the Typographical Union. Mrs. Williams argued in favor of amending the law so that it would apply to persons rather than to women only. While her proposal was not adopted, the jobs of many women were saved for them by the Legislature's refusal to prohibit them from working those four hours between 6 P. M. and 10 P. M.

The Parent and Child bill was referred to the next session of the Massachusetts Legislature, and the State Senate has adversely reported on the Jury Service bill.

The Massachusetts State Branch continues to be very active in many fields. An executive committee meeting was held to make plans for future work, and plans were made for a mass-meeting to be held in April, and for delegations to interview each Massachusetts Senator and Congressman on the Equal Rights Amendment before Congress convenes in special session on April 15. At this meeting Eleanor Calnan, legislative chairman, reported on the results of the legislative work.

Marjorie Ann Gillis, organizer of the Branch, spoke before a studio group on the Equal Rights Amendment on March 8, with the result that the group went on record unanimously in favor of establishing Equal Rights throughout the United States by amendment to the Constitution. The group expressed the opinion that "no person of intelligence could do otherwise."

A group of the Youth Movement in Boston invited Miss Gillis to speak to them as another result of the meeting with the studio group. Miss Gillis is also arranging for speeches before Zonta Clubs, which are debating the question of equality in industrial legislation with a view to taking a stand on the question at the next international convention.

In New Jersey the bill introduced at the request of the New Jersey State Branch of the National Woman's Party, designed to give the illegitimate child equal protection and care from both parents, has already passed the Senate, and is now before the House of Representatives. It has been favorably reported by the committee to which it was referred, and is on the House calendar.

Robert L. Flemming of the State Board of Children's Guardians made the strange statement that this bill would accomplish nothing that cannot now be achieved under existing law. Leila Enders, State chairman of the Woman's Party, replied to Mr. Flemming, pointing out the unjust discriminations against the mother of an illegitimate child in the present law.

"I am unable to understand Mr. Flemming's attitude," Miss Enders said. "Mr. Flemming's views could not have been based upon a careful reading of an official copy reprint of Senate 105 as passed by the Senate without one opposing vote. It begins, 'Any child born out of wedlock is entitled to support and education from its father and mother to the same extent as if it had been born in lawful wedlock.' There is no such common law duty."

Miss Enders averred with much positiveness that the present law covers support from the father only if the child is likely to become a public charge. She makes clear the intent of the bill is to provide suitable support and education for the child without regard to whether the infant is likely to become a pauper.

Miss Enders told there is no attempt to "fix paternity" in her bill. "The establishment of paternity is, as I see it, a question of fact and it may be proved in court like another fact," she declared. "Ours is a bill only for the support and education of a child born out of wedlock. Its passage will not only aid the children, but will help to change public opinion with regard to the position of illegitimate children."

Equal Rights in New Jersey was the topic of a radio talk made by Miss Enders on March 19. She spoke for 20 minutes on the achievements of the National Woman's Party in New Jersey, emphasizing the eight laws passed enlarging the freedom of women, and touching on the pending bill for justice for illegitimate children and their mothers.

French Feminist and Artist Speaks

A RECEPTION in honor of Fanny Bunand-Sevastos, French Feminist and painter, was given at National Headquarters of the National Woman's Party on March 21. Constance Carpenter, treasurer of the New Jersey State Branch of the Woman's Party, who is now working at headquarters, introduced Mlle. Bunand-Sevastos, telling of her part in the Feminist demonstration at Rambouillet, and of her achievements as an artist. She has had her paintings exhibited at the Salon des Tuilleries, Paris.

Following Mlle. Bunand-Sevastos' address, Elsie Ross Shields, executive secretary of the Inter-American Commission of Women, read a report published in the New York *Times* that the French Chamber of Deputies, which has passed the measure granting suffrage to French women, plans to force the recalcitrant Senate to act by refusing to act upon the Senate's pet measures until the Senate acts upon the suffrage measure. This report was cheered by the large audience.

Laura Berrien brought a message from Doris Stevens, chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, who was unable to speak at the reception, and told how she and Mlle. Bunand-Sevastos are working indefatigably for Equal Rights through international action. Miss Berrien also spoke of the historic headquarters of the Woman's Party, once the Capitol of the United States, soon to be razed to make way for the new home for the Supreme Court of the United States.

Then Dr. James Brown Scott, president of the Institute of International Law, delegate to the Pan-American Conference in Havana last year, where the Inter-American Commission of Women was authorized, delegate to the second Hague Conference, and technical delegate to the Versailles Peace Conference, spoke. Dr. Scott urged that women present to the International Conference on the Codification of International Law at the Hague this year a draft of a convention providing that marriage as such shall not affect the nationality of either of the contracting parties.

Dr. Scott said that once it is admitted that women are human beings, it follows without argument that they should have Equal Rights with men in the exercise of political and civil rights, in the practice of a trade, business, or profession. There is no logical reason for a woman's nationality being changed by marriage, he declared. This question, however, must be settled by international agreement, he said, to avoid difficult complications, and urged that women take every step possible to bring about such an international agreement at the Hague conference.

MLLE. BUNAND-SEVASTOS said: "I suppose I was bound to become a Feminist and to take my small share in the fight for Equal Rights, as my brother and I were brought up equally in every way by our mother, who is a remarkable example of energy and initiative. But it is in particular as an artist that I want to speak to you this evening and, as you will see, Feminism and art are very closely connected.

"In my profession, as in every other field, women do not hold the same footing as men. We find, first of all, great difficulty in being taken seriously. Even though women have been in the arts since the beginning of time, and have produced masters such as Rosa Bonheur—who, to impose herself, had to wear trousers and smoke a pipe—as a general rule we are only accepted as amateurs. Although for men art is a career, we may only play with paint, and some day we are supposed to leave all this nonsense and get married —'and the sooner the better.' Scarcely anyone takes any interest in our work, or encourages us to good results. We must first conquer the liberty to work.

"Than arises the question of having our pictures hung. And it is quite a problem, I assure you, to make people realize that a canvas has no sex, and that its value does not augment or diminish if it is by a male or a female painter. Personally I have overcome the difficulty by taking the name of 'Sevastos,' which is my mother's Greek maiden name.

"And the first time I sent my pictures to be admitted at the Salon des Tuilerios in Paris, I don't believe that they suspected that they were by one of the so-called 'feeble sex.' Neither did the critics —who are all men and generally suffer from the same masculine prejudice, which makes them more inclined to give more notice to men's work. As you will easily understand, all this greatly handicaps the women painter in making contracts with galleries or with dealers. The dealer considers her an economic risk. Therefore, she has fewer sales and lower prices. It is stupid to expect artists not to have the same right to the rewards for their merit as other professions enjoy. Then, too, the majority of buyers are men because they have the most money to spend. And so dealers are inclined to give preference and attach more importance to the work of men.

"Fortunately, in my case, I have been encouraged by my distinguished uncle, Antoine Bourdelle, who is not only a great artists but a great man. Like all true artists, he is a Feminist, and does not believe in suppressing creative impulses, no matter what sex they come from and no matter what form they take. Just now I remember a little scene which has become vividly impressed in my mind. It was at a family reunion in our country-house at Rosey, on the 14th of July—the French '4th of July': Bastille Day; the day we became a Republic. Doris Stevens, who was among us, mentioned at the table that it was an anniversary for her also. It was on this day that she and fifteen colleagues were arrested in the United States for carrying a banner which said that woman too wanted 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.'

"My uncle sprang to his feet, deeply moved, and toasted the valiant apostles of liberty in a speech full of feeling. He believes in women, and until the date of equal opportunities comes for men and women artists, he goes so far as to give studio preference to women. One of his pupils, an American girl, has just received her first important commission from the municipal authorities of one of the largest cities in the United States.

"I have often noticed that people are against the Feminist cause through lack of imagination and ignorance of its real meaning, and because they accept the cheap and easy notion that we are man-haters. They do not understand that we wish to have the same rights as men in order to be able to co-operate more closely with them in all walks of life.

"NOW I shall say a few words about France. There is not a single demand for equality that has been made by the women of the United States that is not being made by my countrywomen. Politically, the only difference is that you made your demand for the vote with enough determination to win it, and we have not yet. But we are on the verge of showing that determination.

"I had never realized until last summer how difficult it was for a woman to get to see our Prime Minister. Lack of political power in the hands of women bars them from easy contact with their government. I attempted with Doris Stevens to get an appointment with M. Briand.

"The reason why we were so anxious to see him was because he was acting as host to the foreign plenipotentiaries who came to sign the Kellogg Peace Pact, and our international group of women wanted to ask him to give us that opportunity to present to all those delegates a Treaty for Equal Rights.

"We were told that M. Briand was fishing at Cocherelle, near Paris. So we looked up maps, and called garages, thinking that we might have to call upon him in the midst of his peaceful occupation, if he did not return to Paris soon, and that he might be in a better mood to listen to us. You see, the time was very short. But suddenly we were told that he was coming back unexpectedly to Paris. So we drove up to his private residence, which was a very informal procedure. The *concièrge* looked at us with some astonishment, and told us that the Foreign Office had certainly been wrong to send us there, because M. Briand never received at his home.

"My father had given us a warm and enthusiastic letter of introduction to M. Berthelot (they are very dear friends), a very distinguished member of the Foreign Office. Ambassador Herrick had done the same for Miss Stevens to enable us to see M. Briand. Equipped with these letters, we went to the Foreign Office. Since M. Briand was then still away fishing, M. Barthelot received us very cordially. Very soon, however, we detected that he seemed to want to pass us on to somebody else. He advised us to see the Director of M. Briand's Cabinet, and even phoned to him to make it easy for us, saying that he was in a better position to obtain that interview with M. Briand for us. *'C'est une mission assez grave et importante,'* he said. ('It is a very serious and important matter.')

"During our visit, M. Berthelot turned to Doris Stevens and said: 'Perhaps, Miss Stevens, you who are certainly *en rapport* with the French Feminist movement, will be able to tell me why it is that our women agitate so little for the vote?' At that moment the telephone rang, and his question remained unanswered. As we were taking leave, Doris Stevens said: 'I do not wish to leave without answering your question. The idea of women's political equality was extensively and exhaustively discussed during the nineteneth century. The idea is now accepted and people are bored with discussing it further. We are in the twentieth century now.' M. Berthelot nodded very sophisticatedly, looking charmed and amused at the same time. He had not expected such a frank answer to his question and, as he escorted us to the door, he said with his most quizzical smile: 'Oh, we are very backward over here!'

"Trustingly, from his office we went down to see the Director of M. Briand's Cabinet. He told us that he was a poet and—with one hand on his heart—he said he would be our spokesman for M. Briand. But evidently the muse did not inspire him that day. Days passed, and we did not get the answer which he had promised. Se we had to go to Rambouillet, which was our last chance to get our treaty presented to the plenipotentiaries.

"Rambouillet is the summer château of the President of the Republic, and on that particular day M. Doumergue was entertaining all the plenipotentiaries at luncheon there.

"We had made up our minds to present our treaty. We were a committee of ten women, of different nationalities, and we carried the flags of our respective countries as well as a big banner which bore the inscription 'Nous Demandons un Traite Nous Domnant des Droits Egaux.' (We ask for an Equal Rights Treaty.)

Not only did the *commissaire* (police officer) snatch our banners away at the outer castle-gates, but he refused to deliver the note which we asked him to hand to M. Doumergue, asking for a ten-minutes' audience, and tore it to pieces. Surrounded by gendarmes, we were led to the police station to the astonishment of the onlookers who showed great sympathy for us. We were held there for several hours. I think the *commissaire* was quite relieved when we left, for I do not think he relished arresting us. We caused him more anxiety than he had ever had before in his whole career. He even had us escorted to our motor cars, where a village crowd had gathered. He relieved his feelings by making a little extampore speech in self-defense and on the impropriety of our conduct, in which he said that 'anyhow French women did not care to vote.' At this point his speech came to an abrupt end, as a tough peasant woman, with her arms on her hips, interrupted with: 'Mon Dieu! Of course French women want to vote!' The nervous *commissaire* hurried us into our motor cars, and as we drove away, our unknown Feminist colleague continued to address her fellow-citizens with ample gestures and good humor. Au revoirs between her and us were exchanged. We left feeling that our work was continuing.

"I AM happy and proud I was able to take part in this first international protest. I do not agree with those who try to make us feel uncomfortable by saying that we did not choose the proper moment for such a manifestation. Anyhow a protest is never opportune. But in this case I feel it was singularly appropriate, when they were signing this Peace Pact—into which the labors of women as well as men have gone—to point out that injustice to women is just as flagrant in the world as the injustice of war. And if we had been given a hearing, as we should have been, we would not have had to make a protest.

"As a protest against the Rambouillet arrests, a big international mass meeting was organized in Paris by Marie Vérone, president of the *Ligue pour les Droits des Femmes*. It was held in the *Salle des Sociétés Savantes* near the Sorbonne. The hall, holding 1,500 people, was packed to standing room. The audience represented a cross section of Paris. The speakers too were of different types and different social spheres. Among them were Doris Stevens, Mme. Baralt of Cuba, Maria Vérone and Mme. Netter, both French lawyers; Mme. Brunschvieg, president of the Women's Syndicate of Tramway Employes; Mlle. Bonnin, president of the Syndicate of Telephone Girls; Mrs. Abbott of England, president of the Open Door Council. Mlle. Hélèns Vacaresco, Roumanian delegate to the League of Nations, presided.

"Among the topics discussed were equal suffrage, equal moral standards, married women's nationality, Equal Rights Treaty, and equal pay for equal work.

"It was striking to hear that all who spoke on industry were unanimous in saying that they did not care for protective legislation which applied to women only. They maintained that special laws generally prevented them from getting the same salaries as men, and that neither their health nor their morals needed to be looked after by men. Mrs. Abbott of England was particularly eloquent in repudiating the treaties passed by the Labor Office of the League of Nations. Mlle. Vacaresco promised to carry back to the International Labor Office the points covered in the meeting.

"It was a wonderful meeting, and although I was not one of the speakers, the audience would not be satisfied until I accepted a bow for my participation in the protest of Rambouillet. I tell you this that you may know how ardent was the approval of what the audience termed 'our courage.'

"There was great agitation in the press immediately after the Rambouillet event on all aspects of Feminism. A member of the Cabinet—leader of the parliamentary bloc for suffrage in the Chamber of Deputies—sent for Miss Stevens to express his indignation at the lack of courtesy shown the visiting women, and to discuss methods to force action in the French Senate.

"Fifty French women were arrested two weeks later attempting to make a manifestation in front of the Senate. I read now that Mme. Avril de Sainte-Croix, leader of one of our Feminist parties, has called a meeting of women to consider the ways and means of forcing the Senate to pass the suffrage bill, which as you know has been voted by our Chamber of Deputies several times. Personally I believe that French women in order to succeed will surely be obliged to follow the example of those women who already have the vote. They are being forced into militancy by the obstinacy of the Senate.

"I am very happy to be here, co-operating with the Inter-American Commission of Women, and watch with pleasure International Feminism grow on this hemisphere. It is heartening to work where facilities are now offered you and where things are made easier for your demands to be heard. I have already had occasion to call upon many of the embassies here in Washington, in connection with our work on behalf of nationality. No ambassador has refused to see me. I have had no letters of introduction from my father. I am not known to them. My only credential has been a letter signed by the chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women, asking them to receive me. This new power which has come to women on this hemisphere opens all doors, whether they are Bulgarian doors, Egyptian doors, Finnish doors, or the door of Danzig.

"I feel that we Latins of the Old World must keep pace with the Latins of the New World, or else we shall be left behind.

"Since I have been in the Pan-American Union, I have enlarged my knowledge. We are making a comparative study of the laws on nationality. To do this, we must examine not only the most enlightened laws, but also the laws of the most backward and primitive countries.

"I had discovered what I thought would be an ideal place to install Equal Rights: a country without a government — the Pescadores. A telephone call to the Japanese Embassy woke me from my dream. I was solemnly informed that these twelve islands belong to Japan. There is no land without a government. And all the governments are men. Since this is true, I really think that our only hope is to try and civilize the whole world."

MARY MOSS WELLBORN of Mississippi concluded the evening's program with a talk on the national and the State campaigns of the National Woman's Party for Equal Rights. She gave humorous incidents of the work for specific Equal Rights measures, and told of encouraging developments in the long battle for equality between men and women.

Equal Rights in Old-Age Pensions

A BILL to establisn old-age insurance and pensions for dependents who survive the decease of their supporter, is being discussed and altered by an extra-parliamentary commission appointed by the Federal Department of Economics of Switzerland. There are four women among the ninety or so members of the commission.

A writer in *Le Mouvement Feministe* gives an account of this undertaking, and in the following selected passages touches upon the question of Equal Rights.

"To our great satisfaction, the bill submitted provides for equal incomes for men and women. A petition of the Alliance (National Alliance of Swiss Women's Associations) dating from several years back, had already insisted upon this point. . . . . In a general way, we women can hail with satisfaction Article 18. Men

and women receive at the same age an income of equal value. . . .

"Mme. Duby, representing the Socialist women, proposed a provision by which 'the woman must, like the man, pay a premium for a survivor's pension,' that is, there must be created a widower's pension to be paid in case of the death of a wife who is also his housekeeper. Surely, the death of a married woman who has been professionally employed also leaves a deficiency in the household budget, and the widower will have to bear the expense of paying whoever does his domestic work. But the measure sponsored by the Federal department starts with the idea that the man supports the whole family, and keeps this up. If such is not the case, as for instance when the man is an invalid, other contributions to its support must come into play. It was certainly very fair in a woman to thus defend the interests of men!

"Between the ages of 19 and 65 years, each woman of Swiss nationality domiciled in Switzerland pays annually 12 francs. Men under the same conditions pay 18 francs. This higher rate for men is justified by the existence of widows' and orphans' pensions. . . . These provisions open before us women a whole series of unsolved problems. Mother Helvetia has declared herself in favor of equality between men and women, but it remains to be seen if her sons, the cantons, will do the same."

Feminism at Geneva

II. FUTURE POSSIBILITIES.

By Vera Brittain

(Reprinted from Time and Tide, England, February 1, 1929.)

THE lack of determined effort by women at Geneva in the past has not been due to their failure to attend assemblies or to study the situation. Every year the representatives of various international women's societies meet at the Maison Internationale in the Rue du Vieux College, while a council for the representation of women in the League of Nations has been at work for the past few years in this country. No doubt it is due to the quiet and unobtrusive labors of these organizations that the position of women in the League has not become even worse than it is, yet they have somehow failed to convey an impression of persistent and resolute action. The polite attitude of uncritical appreciation which the League of Nations Union expects from its women members appears to have influenced those who belong also to societies with Feminist or partly Feminist aims, and to have led them, in spite of themselves, to regard their claims as of secondary importance, and to be content with auxiliary *rôles* and insignificant concessions.

So far there have only been two indications that women intend to set to work in the large field that Geneva offers, in a more direct and vigorous fashion than that of the past. The first occurred last summer, when five British Feminist societies sent Mrs. Abbott, the chairman of the Open-Door Council, as their delegate to the International Labor Conference, at which the Minimum Wage-Fixing Machinery Convention came up for discussion. In spite of the almost insuperable difficulties created by a body which was supposed to have accepted nearly ten years previously the principle of equal pay, Mrs. Abbott succeeded in getting the question raised at the conference by Mr. Chaman Lall, the Indian workers' delegate, and by Madame Eugenia Wasniewska, the Polish technical adviser. The result of the discussion was the inclusion of the equal pay principle in the recommendation, but not in the convention, a position which renders the various interpretations of the convention so confusing that the Permanent Court of International Justice is probably the only body competent to give a ruling on the matter.

The second indication of Feminist effort was to be seen last September during the meeting of the Ninth Assembly, when Doris Stevens of the American National Woman's Party was indirectly responsible for a very useful resolution passed by the first committee (legal questions), in connection with the forthcoming Hague Conference on problems of nationality, including that of the nationality of married women. This resolution, proposed by M. Orestes Ferrara of Cuba, seconded by M. Diogenes Escalanta of Venezuela, supported by Mr. Lo-Honai of China, and finally incorporated by the committee in its report to the assembly, ran as follows:

"The assembly, having regard for the fact that the question of nationality which is on the agenda of the Codification Conference, is of particular interest to women, and since Article 7 of the Covenant already provides for equal opportunity between men and women to positions and services of the League, expresses the wish that the governments and members of the League of Nations called to the future conference on the Codification of International Law consider the desirability of taking into account these conditions when framing their delegations."

These indications appear to show that international Feminist work in the immediate future is likely to be directed towards one or both of two main possibilities: first, a comparatively limited and straight-forward campaign on behalf of the right of married women to retain their nationality, and secondly, a much more comprehensive endeavor to obtain some kind of simple international agreement which would override the complicated machinery of conferences, conventions, resolutions and recommendations in which Feminist interests are so often apt to become hopelessly entangled. Such an agreement would probably take a form similar to that of the Equal Rights Treaty which Miss Stevens and her colleagues endeavored to present to the pact signatories in Paris last summer.

The notion of tackling Feminist problems by some kind of international machinery was first discussed between the leaders of the Six Point Group and the American National Woman's Party at the Paris meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in 1926. Carried back to the United States by Miss Stevens, it developed in the creative, legalist mind of Miss Alice Paul into the idea of a comprehensive treaty of Equal Rights for men and women, whose first and major article should run as follows:

"The contracting States agree that, upon the ratification of this treaty, men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

This treaty, the consequences of whose acceptance would be as tremendous as that of the League Covenant itself, and whose effect upon the day-to-day lives of ordinary men and women would be far greater and more intimate, was launched by Miss Stevens and her colleagues upon the astonished delegates to the Pan-American Conference at Havana in the spring of 1928. Once prevailed upon to listen at all, these delegations heard the Woman's Party representatives with interest and sympathy, and the result of their intervention was the establishment of an international commission, with Miss Stevens as chairman, to study the position of women throughout the Americas.

An idea so startling, so simple, and yet so all-embracing as an Equal Rights treaty or convention was not likely to appeal so readily to the rigid mind of the Old World, as to the more elastic and imaginative intelligence of the New. It was hardly to be anticipated that last summer's direct, sudden effort to gain the ear of the Kellogg Pact signatories would achieve anything more than the surprised publicity which was by no means as generally hostile as might have been expected. There are, however, at least three ways by means of which such

an international agreement or convention might be brought within the desired realm of discussion at Geneva.

In the first place, an international conference on the subject could be summoned by any one country, which would issue invitations to others. Such a conference usually results in the passing of a convention which is submitted to the secretary-general of the League by one of the governments concerned. Both the Opium Convention and the Convention on the Traffic in Women and Children were the result of such conferences, the one summoned by the United States to Shanghai in 1909, and the other meeting by agreement at Geneva in 1921.

Secondly, any subject may be placed by a member of the League on the assembly agenda for discussion, usually in the following year, but in cases of urgency in the year in which it is proposed.

In the third place, the discussion may be initiated by a representative on one of the six commissions, and a resolution recommending consideration of the subject incorporated in that commissions's annual report to the Assembly. For Feminist purposes the second or third type of machinery would probably prove the least cumbersome and the most effective.

The endeavor to set such machinery in motion would of course have to be accompanied by quiet but persistent propaganda, carried on by individuals capable of remaining unshaken by hostile criticism or obstructionist patronage. Such propaganda would necessarily be based on a sound knowledge of current events. This is less difficult to obtain at Geneva than elsewhere, for the majority of Assembly, Council and Commission meetings are public, any visitor to Geneva may obtain a ticket of admission to at least a few sessions.

A truly Feminist international campaign would be a unique event in history, and might result in raising for all time the status of womanhood throughout the world. Whether any group of women will have the courage and the enterprise to initiate such a campaign, the future alone can show.

Equal Economic Opportunity in France

EQUAL RIGHTS and opportunities for women were demanded in a number of the resolutions passed by the States General of Feminism, the three-day assembly of French women's organizations held at Paris in February.

Changes in the law were favored which would abolish the civil incapacity of married women, amend the community property act to give the wife control of property acquired after marriage, and provite for the equal custody of children. Consideration by Parliament was asked for a proposed revision of the civil code to remove various discriminations against women.

Under the heading "Occupational Equality" (*travail égal*), the following resolution was adopted:

"WHEREAS, the Treaty of Versailles has formally declared for the equality of women as regards positions (in connection with the League of Nations),

"The States-General asks that the following principles be put into practice in France:

"1. That all examinations and competitions may be open to women under the same conditions as to men;

"2. That women may have access to all careers which require a university diploma, especially those in the *Administrations centrales,* in order that they may obtain equal pay and the same opportunities for promotion;

"3. That all public offices may be open to women under the same conditions as to men.

The first section of this resolution is pertinent to the controversy over the admission of young women to the *concours général,* a State examination for university graduates, the passing of which carries with it special honors.

It was followed by one demanding of private concerns that they be guided by the same principles, so that women, like men, may reach the higher positions in industry, business, and finance; and another in favor of distinguished women receiving the same honors as distinguished men.

One of the resolutions concerning labor demanded the vote for women on the ground that it would enable them to take part in the drafting and administration of labor laws. It is not reported that the gathering went on record either for or against labor laws affecting women only.

The final resolution called on the Senate to take up the suffrage bill passed by the House of Deputies in 1919 which reads:

"The laws and regulations relating to the electorate and to elegibility to all elected bodies apply to all French citizens without distinction of sex."

International Sports for Women

By Helen Masters Bunting,
Assistant Professor and Director of Physical Education for Women,
Stanford University, California

DURING recent years international sports for women have grown apace. There can be no denying that fact. In international tennis, golf, field hockey, and the Olympic games the growth of women's participation in recent years has been very rapid. It behooves us, therefore, to look dispassionately and farsightedly upon these facts and find, if we can, the cause and effect.

As we scan present-day women's activitiees we find that there is scarcely a field of human endeavor that has not been invaded by women in recent years—business, politics, medicine, law, engineering, and latest of all, aviation! So as we pause to consider the field of sports the question forces itself upon us as to whether the growth of women's participation in the widening fields of athletic competitions is only another manifestation of the growth of Feminism? Have sports been caught in the maelstrom of progress, and are international sports part of social evolution? These questions need to be answered if we are to deal adequately with the situation. So much for possible "cause," what about the problems involved in the "effect"?

There has been much written regarding the physical dangers to women incident to participation in highly specialized competitive athletics. There has been, to date, so far as I know, no scientific study made of this phase of the problem. If some foundation could be induced to make such a study, it should be of great scientific and social value. In the meantime all that is written is simply "literature of opinion" and not of "fact." Certainly, however, the superlative cannot be reached in physical achievement without adequate physical fitness; but, on the other hand, the additional effort needed to achieve that superlative may conceivably, in some instances, result in being the "straw that breaks the camel's back." The question as to whether participation in international sports raises or lowers the physical fitness of the nation is a question that can be settled only by scientific medical research. The question as to whether a given competitor has been harmed physically by participation in international sports can be settled only by scientific medical study of the given case. The study of the individual case involves, however, a relatively simple problem compared to that of the study of the effects upon national fitness.

Another phase of this problem that

needs careful study is that of its influence upon the ideal of "sports for all." We may hold the opinion that international athletic competition involves only the specialization of the few, or we may hold the opinion that it stimulates mass participation from which the few stars are selected. The only way in which to get away from opinions and down to facts is to make a scientific study of many concrete situations throughout the length and breadth of the country. Another inviting study for some foundation!

The commercialization which generally accompanies highly specialized athletic competitions presents to the promoter temptations for exploitation of the individual athlete under specific conditions. Whether exploitation exists depends entirely upon the caliber of those in charge of the competitions. It may exist in the most local situation and be absent in an international situation, or vice versa. It is not inherent in one and foreign to another. But certainly it is true that the higher the stake the greater the temptation to sacrifice the individual to the public spectacle. Whether such sacrifice is made depends entirely upon the organization, supervision, and conduct of the specific competition.

It will be realized that the points touched upon are applicable to men as well as women. The problem is not one involving sex differentiation, but those of us who are most intimately concerned with women's problems feel that the study of this question from the standpoint of women's participation is all that we can undertake.

The problem presents to us certain very definite questions: Is women's participation in international sports part of social evolution and therefore beyond our control; or is it controllable? Is it desirable, and if so can we eliminate the undesirable elements by wise organization, supervision and conduct of the competitions and direct the desirable elements into the most approved educational channels? Is it undesirable, and if so can we eliminate it, and how?

Those of us who are interested in conserving the best in our womanhood and at the same time not blocking progress can no longer evade these questions. We are faced with the world-wide problem of preserving stability without being static.

Who is there among us who is sufficiently sagacious to answer these searching questions without an intensive study of the whole situation?

Feminist Notes

English Women Athletes

ENGLISH women continue to break records for athletic achievements. Driving a cycle-car with a six-horsepower engine, Mrs. Stewart has beaten the two hours' record, making 162 miles in two hours. K. Gardiner of Liverpool has established a new record for women climbers by her ascent of Mount Cook, the culminating peak of the Southern Alps, in the southern island of New Zealand, which rises to a height of 12,349 feet. Her time was 15 hours and 45 minutes. Durelle Sale Barker and "Di" Crewdson have been chosen to represent England in a Polish skiing championship.

Meanwhile, Vera Sherwood, assistant teacher at Ellen's Green, an isolated hamlet, has been asked to resign, one of the grounds being that she plays cricket on the village green!

Attention, Lady Rhondda!

THE committee in England, headed by Viscountess Rhondda, which is encouraging fathers to take in their daughters as business partners or to bequeath their businesses to their daughters, might well give some attention to the example set by a New York milliner. Herman Freed, owner of the Moulin Rouge Millinery Shop in the Bronx, has turned his business over to five young women who have been associated with him for several years. He made the women a present of his business, estimated to be worth $15,000 to $20,000, and paid a month's rent on the shop in advance for them, says the New York *Times*. He has previously shared his profits with the women who helped build his business, one of the new owners says. The women receiving the shop are Emma Gordon, who has been associated with him ten years; Paula Bernstein, who, until a few years ago, owned other millinery shops in the vicinity; Estelle Bruno; Anna Brokaw; and Rose Gould.

Women Medical Students' Opportunities

TIME AND TIDE, Lady Rhondda's weekly journal, criticizes the report made by the special committee appointed by the University of London last March to consider the exclusion of women medical students from the medical schools. The report leaves things almost exactly where they were, *Time and Tide* says, and makes no constructive suggestions for wiping out the discriminations against women students in the London medical schools. The University of London could withdraw its recognition from training schools which refuse to grant equal opportunity to women students, and could, under the new statutes whereby the treasury grants hitherto paid directly to medical schools are to go the University for distribution, withhold financial support from institutions not offering equal opportunities, *Time and Tide* suggests.

Brazil College Women Organize

IN order to encourage and assist the education of women in Brazil and to aid and protect women graduates, the Universitaria Feminina has been founded in Rio de Janeiro. The president is Carmen Vellasco Portinho, a graduate engineer of the Escola Polytechnica of Rio de Janeiro and the vice-president is Eloisa Marinho, a graduate in philosophy at the University of Chicago. An invitation to serve on the directorate has been extended to Bertha Lutz, the Feminist leader, and also to other well-known Brazilian women. This is considered an evidence of the growing spirit and conscious desire for progress of the university women, while professional students are steadily increasing.

Swiss Women After the Vote

SWISS woman suffragists have begun an active campaign for winning the ballot through a national referendum. Upon the suggestion of the Socialist Women's Federation, at a conference held a few weeks ago, it was decided to invite all the political parties and professional associations of the confederation to join the campaign. Thirteen organizations, including the Socialist Party, have promised their support and a committee has been formed to arrange the work of gathering enough signatures to put the question up to the people.

Feminist Activity in Peru

A PAMPHLET entitled, "Actividad Feminina," written by Elvira Garcia y Garcia, member of the Geographic Society, the Historical Institute, and the Lima Atheneum, has been received at the Pan-American Union. Among the interesting chapter headings are the following:

The Modern Woman, Woman's Work, The Woman Educator, Training in Science, Training of the Artistic Sense, The Peruvian Woman in the University, The School Should Prepare Woman for Life, Woman in Charitable Associations, Women Business Employes, Women Nurses, Eduation of Children's Nurses, Women Lecturers and Librarians, Law on Equal Pay for Equal Work Proposed by Dr. J. Matias Manzanilla, The New Woman with a Profession, Kindergartens, Day Nurseries and Child Welfare.

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